

UNCLASSIFIED

me

Sunday

1 7166

Oliver North, AG, WBR, CTC, JR

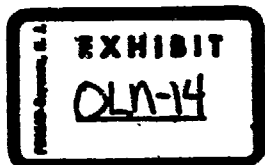
1 5904

2<sup>13</sup>pm

AG: Want to get all facts from everyone involved. Flesh out diff. recollections.  
Talk to RR, John P.  
Worst thing can happen is if someone try to conceal something to protect selves, RR, put good spin on it.  
Want nothing anyone can call a cover up.  
What happened early on?  
How does Ledeen fit in.

ON: Ledeen first came to ON in July or June 85 — was consultant NSC — talk about Israeli proposal. L current memory is Amer. proposal — That L took to Dad.  
I recall L to N to

L Intro N to Al Schriener —  
relat w/ Rodi + Adanakashomi.  
In July or Aug, Schriener talked in WH w/ N + L — est contacts w/ guy in Em.  
Schriener



Nashed Allen to go to



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~~1 5905~~


I was totally unwitting of  
508 TONS until after fact  
Bud call DCN; from Geneva -  
Rabine got problem -  
need move something around.  
- Had discussed w/ MCF philos  
Ossali help moving something  
to Iran.

DCN called Rabine back -  
wanted to send man -  
big problem port -

- move some things that  
support what you want to do

Rebut: told moving items to support  
agreement w/ Iran

- Dick Secord - : until burn

- Went to see guy in 

Rabine told <sup>3000</sup> oil related equipment.

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Several more convers. w/Bud — encour  
him to call Post Ops. + think he did.  
Israelis aborted the move.

Second went to Tel Aviv per Bar  
Request. Clear high prior.  
Ship —

I called Dewey Clavelge at  
CIA, got name proprietary.

Dick not yet in Tel Aviv —  
but when got there —  
told 18-19 Hawk missiles.

N talked to Bud — lousy —  
M+N recall — : OK, but not  
right way to do it, not seen as  
exchange host. of arms.  
M meet R — OK to meet  
Israelis.

Mtg early Dec — 6 or 7 — with  
R.

N to Eur. to set up M mtg —

w/ Spanians —

Next day M arrived —

2 mtgs — all — Corbin, Second, etc  
- out Kimche — w/N

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W/Kimche, emphatic that not  
way to go — w/ arms → host, etc

mtg: M, Secord, Schwimer, Kimche,  
Nimrod, Gorbunov, N  
(Gorbunov not on +  
lived in Iran)

AG: disc. arms trans w/M.

N: M disc incentives + their need  
but said can't be seen as  
exchange arms f/ host

~~Aug 22~~ (Aug 22 - philos disc Kimche — not of.  
+ M)

AG: TOWS —

N: No knowled —  
learned Nov 25-6 from Secord  
when in Tel Aviv —  
~~Don't~~ Don't know who knew

Bud + Kimche meet  
July, early Aug, late Aug  
in part of  
This

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When in room, never raised. 7170

in. London — ftn mty  
Kimche, M, N — no appear.

exchange arms/host.

Broader discussion.

Kimche said all along —  
need arms in deal —

NYT article — Kimche.

N: The Nov. op is a mess —

There were 80 Hawks in  
El Al plane —

Second shut it down b/c  
can work —

Off loaded in Tel Aviv —

Probbly Called Clamidge re: or 23<sup>d</sup> —

AG: CIA — word — look at legality.

Dick sent long rept to N on how  
screwed up this is —. Shipment of  
Hawks.

Went in disc w/ Pain + MCF —

late Nov, early Dec.

Whatever you want done not being  
done right.

N probably told Chaire or Dewen.

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6

Told them shipment involved arms +  
not oil drilling equipment. By trouble  
of CIA ok suppose to be oil equip.  
Mid-Dec — talked to Casey.

Told them, as ops opr, not way  
to do whatever your policy is.

Secord learned it from Israelis

Finding: Version of finding that  
~~exists~~ today — shows work  
in early Jan —  
Started work in ~~early~~ mid-Dec.

Spokin work — on finding, retro  
applic — not til mid Dec  
work — I swear —  
+ that was for prospective  
shipments.

No ~~any~~ knowledge of retro F for  
Hawks or future Hawks.  
One draft re: all previous  
acts — work in mid-Dec.  
After Dec. mtg. in London —  
talk to M re need for finding, etc.

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Can't have Jm. out doing this  
+ want Funding to cover activities

Heard H McMahon, Casey + Sporkin  
They were goosey about Hank  
Shugart. CIA thought wrong  
later.

Need CIA to run op. — need Funding  
M agreed w/ need H F —  
- Sporkin, Casey, Gate, George, N,  
met at Casey house in Dec.  
- recall George was there —  
lately after trip to London.

Talk to anyone else about  
Shugart after Secord told you.  
N: To Pam. — Said we need  
something more —  
Then N to CIA — plane.

Pam totally innocent —  
knew nothing of it.  
1st learned in Nov when N  
raised it.

N was told it oil equip — I wondered  
if not but 1st knew —  
Secord

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Got clearance from Poin. to.  
Contact Second for CIA plane.

Second: close personal friend —  
lived in Iran; Known when  
Asst SecDef.

Not at N expense — Second.

When learned Hawks, N → CIA? yes.

Who? Perhaps directly to Casey.

At: Got to McMahon — who  
sent to Lusk —

N: McMahon was not happy —  
McMahon can't stand N, blames  
N for Nicar. mess so wouldn't call  
McMahon.

At: Le teen:

Le teen would have brought persons  
to N? yes — but principal  
contact for Le teen was MCF —  
joining of suite at State —  
Le teen pushing Iran rapprochement.

When 1st hear about 508 Tons?

Think sometime in Oct —

Weir released on 14th —

think result



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[REDACTED] May have  
been Secord who told of 508 TOWs —  
think it was. Nov. of a mess —  
operationally screwed up — if I'd  
been involved wouldn't be  
so screwed up — but ~~the~~  
someone decided not to —  
whether M or K — defer to them.

csc: Allen reminded N yet  
tasked to go to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Gorbanfar —  
per Allen it was Sep 85 —  
b/c Ledeen said worthwhile guy —  
— reason: verify who in Iran  
G talking to.  
Israelis really pushing G. on us.

Didn't ask anyone else  
re: coverage [REDACTED]

13 Sep 85 [REDACTED] (re: TOWs ?) [REDACTED]  
recent U.S. actions —  
demonstrate good faith.

N: we talked prospectively —


Copies — Wein  
Casey } decision by M —  
M. N.

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1 5913 10

N: State not on list b/c it leaks  
— handled thru INR —  
then if don't like it, hit  
papers.

N: asked for dissim. of mtgs  
Iran — to State —  
not done. (by CIA analyst)

Ches. info re: stmt —  
where from? 

Ledeer learned this in late Sept —  
talks from Gorbanifar —  
Ledeer told Nan Sept.

Q: but said in Nov —

N: from an Israeli —: is when I  
learned that from them in Nov.

In Dec, Ledeer told to go away  
from this & never come back.

B/c get Israelis involvmt —

Schwimer, Ledeer, Gorbanifar —

N told Nir — & Nir took over.

Schwimer: bus'man; close to Peres.

Linche dropped out same time — as  
far as N knew — not k, but now k.

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L 5914 II

g.6 chron. not right — Jan. knew for sure  
of Hawks (Nir)  
Reptd to MCF + Poin.  
Leaked in Nov from Dick —  
+ rept'd to John + Bud.

Orig. plan — 2 to Hawk loads  
to Iran of 160 — not happen.  
sent 18.

Return of Hawks —

Not correct in chron, what  
N wrote — M said to N b/c mad —  
but Iran didn't like them —

Problem was I didn't give \$ back.  
Don't know \$ — pre-funding.

M told N to get Hawks back —  
in early Jan. — when Jelly gone.  
(2 Jan when Nir ~~here~~) —

Nir raised replenishment for 1st time —  
asked any deals made — N don't  
know — ask M — said no deals —  
N told Nir.

We did replenish —

Missiles sitting in crates — only 1  
unpacked — wrong type + needed  
US technician — Calabrate. Said —

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Hawks from Israeli stocks, best knowl.  
Ab: When we paid replenishment —  
Where \$ go?

→ Iran, Nir, Swiss acct, to DoD  
normal practice  
CIA controller handles it, think.

Dick carried one transfer —

for 1000 TOWs —  
Feb. event doesn't produce hostages —

★ —

Money moved to CIA account —  
Iranians → Israelis → CIA account —  
→ Army

Show memo: Is it something you  
prepared? w/ terms of reference  
dated Apr 86 —

reference to:

on 13 Sep, with endorsement of US gov't,

Israeli transfer 508 TOWs —

— don't know who did it; think  
M — based on gen'l understanding  
from RH ~~that~~.

Ab: Some have  
Concern protect RH but  
we need to know facts.

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13

Everyone N talked to in Israeli gov't

Pere, Rabine, Shamir, etc. at US request. But not info of N.

2. Was M main problem the perception or the fact of arms ~~to Iran~~ to Iran of hostages.

N believes RR authorized it himself. b/c M wouldn't go off on own. Think M → K understanding

N went to talk to RR re: strategic relation + w/RR it always came back to hostages —

Drawn to linkage  
Terrible mistake to say RR wanted the strategic relationship. b/c RR wanted the hostages —

AG: he (RR) talked about both — if just relationship, not agree arms —  
add hostages —

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At: Same memo, appears to be written  
between 4-7 April —  
Mention of use of \$ —

Transferred? —

— yes, b/c used it of Hawk parts —  
16 May \$ deposited — to Israeli acct

Use of \$ —

— \$2. — million for Israeli replacmt.  
— \$12 M residual funds for  
Nicaraguan resistance

cost: 6.5 parts

2.5 replac Tows Ins.

9.0 total so 3 M of residual funds.

(★) → Don't know how much was moved  
to Nicaraguans —

Israeli decides \$ to resistance.

Our involvmt — none — CIA, NSC  
none.

At: how

Nir: Israelis, in Jan 86, approach  
w/ 2 ways to help —  
~~ways~~

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Arrange to take residuals from these transactions + to Nic.  
AG - disc w/RR. — not w/N.

→ Poin. — pt of contact w/RR.  
Fortier involved too — became  
principal dep —.

Ant? N don't know.  
Any CIA handling of that? —  
No, don't think they know,  
Some may suspect.

Israeli suggest to sweeten pot?  
— Dix. Israeli help gen'lly —  
N + Rabine.  
Don't recall asking them.  
Israeli offers.

If Pres. OKs something — into  
working files of

AG: If he approved it — you'd have  
it? yes. don't think ~~it~~ it was.

Other files there it could be in?  
To verify it didn't go  
forward?

(\*) N.N. with re..

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Ch if Israeli \$ got to Nicaraguans? —  
It's Iranian \$ — from  
profits of arms deal —.

N understood this part of deal.  
How much more is there to it?

Feb <sup>shipment</sup> + last one both had  
residuals —

Who else — M or Poin.

N told M in Apr or May 86  
Only 3 who could know in  
USO — M, P, N.

An Israeli idea — wanted  
to be helpful.

guess money got to them from  
this. Contras knew \$ came ~~from~~  
+ agreed. . Know

{ Israeli offer → Colero → open 3 accts in Switz —  
N gave \$s to Israelis —  
\$ to accts.  
CIA no knowledge —

Via accusations of N raising \$ —  
but other gov'ts have done  
the same w/ Colero + usual.



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17

No other US ofcs involved —  
M + Poin. knowledgeable —

Israelis: Nir, (perhaps all himself)

Gorbaniyar cut off top.

? { Iranians → Israel → account corp  
→ CIA account → army weapons  
= weapons  
= transportation, etc  
(12M in memo based on what told)  
by Israelis.

\$ left in CIA account → \$ ~ 300-300K

AG: 3 transac

1. 1000 tons → Israel → Iran → \$ 1sr →  
\$ US  
(Feb) (Gorbaniyar)  
in it.  
(~ 3-4M to contract in it)

2. Hawk parts / 508 replenishment:  
— payment of parts  
— payment for Hawk replenishment.

(contract too)

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+ 5921 18

3- Oct 500 Tows:

no \$ for contras in that —  
Nir upset b/c not same price  
as before —: didn't want  
perception of pvt profit —  
no need of contra \$ —  
flowing now.



\$ amts — CIA

deposits Europe  
pymt Army  
pymt trans. }

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

Q: What else like Nicaraguan angle —

A: Nothing

Israelis said

- 1- divert funding — N: No.
- 2- use Israeli \$ — N: No, At —  
Israeli \$ from
- 3- so, have Iranians pay.

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If this doesn't come out, only  
other is Nov. Hawks deal.

Think someone ought to step up  
and say this was authorized  
in Nov.

Don't know if RR briefed on  
it; possible Don Regan is.

Thompson may have seen it.

Folks in OLN etc don't know.

At: Must share w/RR — see if  
he is aware of it.

Any other thing aware of?  
Problematic areas —

508 transfer:

Hawk transfer:

Any thing else others could be  
doing, have done?

Iranian law won't permit advance  
pynt — so Gorb. & Kashogi  
raise \$, consortium.

Head of complaints nonpynt —

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(\*)

AG: Another source potential embarrassment —  
Those who <sup>not</sup> paid + lost \$.

Any in NY, elsewhere, working for  
us?

No; we turned over to Customs.  
Gordon: 22 Apr bust — he had  
\$ in it. Lost 19M in sting  
by FBI

AG out (4:05 pm) : —.

Cooper:

\* Nir mtg w/ Poin/N — and Nir  
admits he in charge — Poin. upset  
w/ Hawks deal — get <sup>them</sup> back —

~~\*\*\*~~ No doubt Nir convinced  
~~\*\*\*~~ US econ/acquiesced/

agreed in 508 Tow shipment —

N didn't agree —

— from disc. w/ Bud.

— No reason to doubt Nir.

— Ask M about it — M said

"I've always insisted we  
didn't trade arms for host."

Think Bud needs to think out  
disc w/ RR + Israelis +  
This prob will go away.

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22 21

④ But does not recall specif. author.  
shipment of Hawks.  
Nir satisfied N - US endorsed it.  
M answer re: TOWs equivocal enough  
so didn't disbelieve Nir.

→ Feb. shipment did not produce  
hostages —  
thus, not strict guid.  
Cooper: expect hostages?

Replenishment? When —

M + Kinche conversations —  
— strong objections to Kinche to  
shipments in chron. based on  
perception —  
— what doesn't square — is  
RR → hostages  
MCF → strategic dialog.  
But doesn't like perception.

WBR: Discussion of policy — vis Iran / embargo,  
etc.

— exception  
— list of wants — we declined many &  
most

• anti — X missile — is defensive.

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22

508 Tows linked to Weir: N: yes, from  
what I understand.  
18 Hawks linked to any hostages: don't  
know

→ Hawks return:  
Israelis didn't want to give it  
back. Iranians didn't want it —  
not what ordered.

Learned of it —:

① US Air crew to move all cargo  
we ran — Feb'83 on forward —  
run w/ crew from Southern Air  
Transport in Miami Fla —  
DOT investigating of contra relations.

→ paid by  
Israelis

Proprietary airline — start used  
to Iran earlier —  
use them 1/1 508 Tows (?) — ~~that~~ Cagney  
said

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1 59274

Nov.: 85

McF. call N. in ofc --

Call Rabine --

N called. Said problems -- in midst of assisting you -- deliveries to countries in a -- aide to Wash (Israel, gen'l)

Call M -- problems in [redacted] shipping something (N guesses is arms)

Plus. Call Secord to help.

Name of fellow in [redacted] Israel

Secord call + ask if non-US, non-Israel. charter large cargo plane -- from to Israel on false docs

→ N called Clauridge -- name.

(1st contact on Hawk episode w/CIA -- or any of this except for intell request. → Ask name of discrete airline in Eur.

[redacted]

→ Unspecified # flights.

In Israel, they want'd, per Secord, to take more than 1 flight -- N said no.

M doesn't recall conversation this time frame -- he was under pressure -- in papers re: affair.

N → Told M + Poin. about Secord's rept


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5928 25

about what's really going on.

Copp is Secord — for telephone purposes. Mr Adams is Secord too — w/ documentation.

\* Clarridge gave name of person in  to N → N to Secord → Secord to Israelis, who called + set up the airplane.

Thompson was with M at Geneva —

ck: Thompson logs —

Thompson: Counsel + military aide to M + Poinc (now).

M called someone in 

Q: Nature of urgency:

A: Israelis wanted it.

Did you think it oil equip —?

A: No, thought it munitions

+ told M + P — <sup>then</sup> said go do it —

+ CIA not told — CIA told by N  
of M suspicions it was oil equip.

5:55 pm

~~5~~ (SR out a minute)



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+ 5729

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— <sup>think</sup> Israelis probly passing selves off as Americans.

Genesis of Cheon —  
on 15<sup>th</sup> — Poin. said do a history.  
— went to file, talk to H, P, others.  
— get it to RR  
— still inconsistencies.

(CIA) Second  
expenses — CIA.  
incurred.

Intell Exchng  
began in Feb —

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27.

To show Iran can't win, we  
give some doctored intell.



Who knew 508/Hawks

✓ M, RR, Thompson, Poia, Regan, VP

if intg =

maybe → Casey  
Shultz (M says told  
him everything)

↙  
M says no foreknowl Hawks

↙  
Shultz to AG, M told Hawk

✓  
M → Shultz don't recall

M not tell P, N  
Compuce in Jan

When M tell Shultz.

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M. foreknowledge — of plan agreed  
to with Israel — not necess.  
the Hawks.

OK on <sup>getting</sup> coop. of Israelis —  
before anything public.

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On trip to Iran in May J 7194 29  
~~5932~~

M. Cave, Tischer, CIA Commis, Nir  
Ami ~~XXXXXX~~, N.  
(dressed)

We never provided technicians

+ still want one

555 olie out.